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**Art and Power: The Manifestation  
of Power in Art through the Ages.**

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## Introduction

Power has manifest itself through art and architecture. Through this thesis I will try to describe the phenomena through different time periods. The first chapter is about ancient Greece, through the Classical Period and the Hellenistic Period.

This chapter is divided into three different paragraphs.

The first chapter describes Pericles, a Greek politician and orator and his use of rhetoric.

The second paragraph deals with Parthenon, both within the context of its contemporaries and up to the twentieth century. The third paragraph is about Nike of Samothrace, Goddess of Victory, who was an ikon in the modern western world.

The second chapter is about the Medici Family during the Renaissance. It describes the family, its power structure and how it manifest itself through art and architecture.

In the third chapter I introduce totalitarian art of the twentieth century through Nazism and the Soviet Union. I end that chapter with a description of the World Exhibition of 1937.

This leads into the fourth chapter where I deal with contemporary art within the late twentieth century in its relationship both to the market and to the state within the Golden Triangle of the Western World.



Chapter 1

**Ancient Greece - The Foundation  
of the Western World.**





## Chapter One

### 1

"We are the lovers of the beautiful yet with simplicity and we cultivate the mind without losing manliness. We are the school of Greece"

Pericles in the fifth century.

Quotation taken from the book "Art through the ages", Page 126.  
Horst De La Croix & Richard G. Tansey:

In order to discuss how the source of power has manifest itself through art and architecture in the Western World, it must be understood that it is built on the foundation of ancient Greece. Greek Art History is divided into four major periods. The Geometrical Period, between the 9th century and the 7th century. The Archaic Period between the 7th and the 5th century and the Classical Period the 5th century and the Hellenistic Period between the 4th century and 30 A.D.

I will focus my attention mainly on the Classical Period and the Hellenistic Period. The Classical Period is known to be a time when a lot of changes took place in Greece. "The Greek Revolution was nothing less than a fundamental reorientation of thinking in two important areas: first of all they attached an unprecedented importance to the individual's ability to think for himself. Mark Gellenter in "The Source Of Architectural Form", Page 45. "

It is relatively easy to see similarities between this short period in history and the western society of today, everything from democracy as a political form to the ideas of art and architecture. It is all connected to history up to the twentieth century, but mainly the idea of the individual human's ability to think for himself.

In the beginning of the fifth century in the Classical Period, this is usually called the Transensual Period. It's a short period of thirty years when the Greeks and Hellenists repulsed Persians when they attempted to invade Greece.



This ended with Greek victory and after this the early classical period starts. " In the prestige that the Athenians won by their leading role in the repulse of the Persians and by virtue of their powerful fleet they built in the process, made them the dominant political force of the Greek World" (Art through the Ages, Page 150: Horst De La Croix & Richard G. Tansey:).

In this period lived an Athenian statesman named Pericles. He was born in 495 B.C. and died 429 B.C. He was a leading political figure of his generation and under him Athens probably reached a peak in both economical wealth and military power and culture. After a battle in 479 B.C. which marked the end of the Persian Wars, Sparta that had been considered the most powerful city in Greece took a second position towards Athens. Athens which had made more sacrifices in the wars against the Persians had built a considerable fleet and a battle worthy army. This made them the most powerful city state of Greece and after the democratic reforms and assassination of Ephelides the reformer 462 B.C., Pericles emerged as leader for the Democratic Party.

Though ostensibly leader of a democracy, Pericles could if necessary impose his will on the people but instead resorted to the tool of rhetoric to soften matter. For contemporaries of Pericles rhetoric was considered the highest form of art.

In Greek society each person of standing would have had a considerable knowledge of this art form and so it remains in public life through to the present. It has been taught and functioned fairly much the same. But in the western world of today most people would not have more than a general understanding of what it means and how it functions, though its widely used in the politics and media of the world of today.





Aristotle described this art of rhetoric as a method of speech most likely to persuade people to do what you want. Rhetoric worked as a structure of speech. Greek pupils of rhetoric, and students for many centuries afterward were taught to bear the following "with, why, where, when, who, with help of what" in mind.

The rules of rhetoric were then separated into four different sections, containing methods of dealing with creating a relationship and affinity between the speaker and those listening, depending on the degree of stature i.e. social standing between the speaker and those listening.

Each section contains illustrations of topics and key words of the functions of the situation to be used in. For example: to persuade someone through speech you need arguments, but in order to make the arguments coherent you need to consider who you are speaking to and what type of audience and what approach they would have towards you and finally what do you want to achieve or deliver with your speech. Rhetoric's main purpose is to control your listener's understanding of what you want to say, simply how to persuade them into your specific course. In rhetoric there is no right and wrong from a moral standpoint. If what you say is true or not is irrelevant for the rules of rhetoric. Simply describe, name and possess.

After a war with Sparta and Corinth 431 B.C, Athens held its traditional ceremony for the dead soldiers and Pericles was chosen to give the oration. Pericles, as the leader of the democratic party had been one of the key figures in power in politics for some time, and as was usual in such circumstances of almost absolute power he had made many enemies.

In the audience there were many women who had lost husbands or sons in the wars for which Pericles was blamed.



There was also many people who admired Pericles and saw him as a statesman and symbol of Athens. So Pericles had to balance his speech between these two very different groups. He used the form of rhetoric which is called Exemplum. The main purpose of this form is to exemplify the inner abilities or greater meaning of an event or a person and at the same time stand as a good example for other people's thoughts and actions.

Because Pericles had such a wide audience from poor people to aristocrats he needed to make the speech accessible to all of them, therefore he named it "Athens, a school for all Greeks". This was also a very clever and telling hint to the other city states of Greece who did not approve of Pericles and Athens's imperialistic policies.

I will now give you a general understanding of this speech. The start of the speech is the following " Athens, the school for all Greeks, this is what the city is like, for whom noblemen have fought and died. They saw it as their duty not to let it be lost and this devotion was carried on in the hearts of all survivors to willingly sacrifice themselves for the same cause. This is why I speak so strongly about our city's glories. He wanted to show that we fought for a higher ideal, one that not all people can enjoy as we do."

Pericles' intention with this first part of the speech was to unite disparate factions in a common ideal. What is interesting enough is that what he had written in his Exemplum was the same as manuscript " human beings accept alleged exceptionality over other men only if they feel that they can perform some of the deeds which they hear mentioned."

So when Pericles made this speech to the citizens of Athens, with its varied groups, with many different interests, he is making them feel that they had the ability to achieve





something higher than themselves, something that most humans would willingly sacrifice much for, even life itself. They are therefore ready, for another possible war against any enemy. He also connects Athens and its with the metaphysical world, as Athens, the chosen city. The enemy see a strong united Athens under a powerful leader, connected to the gods, a dangerous adversary. Maybe this is what rhetoric is in the end. The Greeks pursued logic and perfection and rhetoric is the architecture of language, a form to control and possess, both language and the metaphysical world. One of the first thing Pericles achieved as the leader of the democratic party was to entice the citizens of Athens into rebuilding Acropolis and the Temple of Parthenon in 447 B.C. "The reconstruction in 447BC a move of the greatest symbolic significance, it's purpose was to emphasise the Ancestor Myths of Attica with which the Sacred Rock was inextricably bound up, the hymn the final victory over the barbarians to which Athens had contributed so much and to promote the contemporary grandeur of the city at its height of military intellectual power (Parthenon and its impact on modern times, Page 24: Panayotis Tournikotis). To enforce the building of Acropolis and Parthenon was not only a powerful statement of the Hellenistic culture, it was also a very powerful message to Athens' enemies, in particular the rival city state of Sparta. This major rebuilding required an enormous amount or workers. This kept a lot of people in work, therefore kept Athens more stable.

The Parthenon must have been a very impressive piece or architecture in its own time. It was 30.88m by 69.5m. completely built in marble. It was the largest temple to be completed in Dorical order in Ancient Greece and had as its centre a 12m high sculpture was of the goddess Athena covered with gold plate.





(PLATE .1)





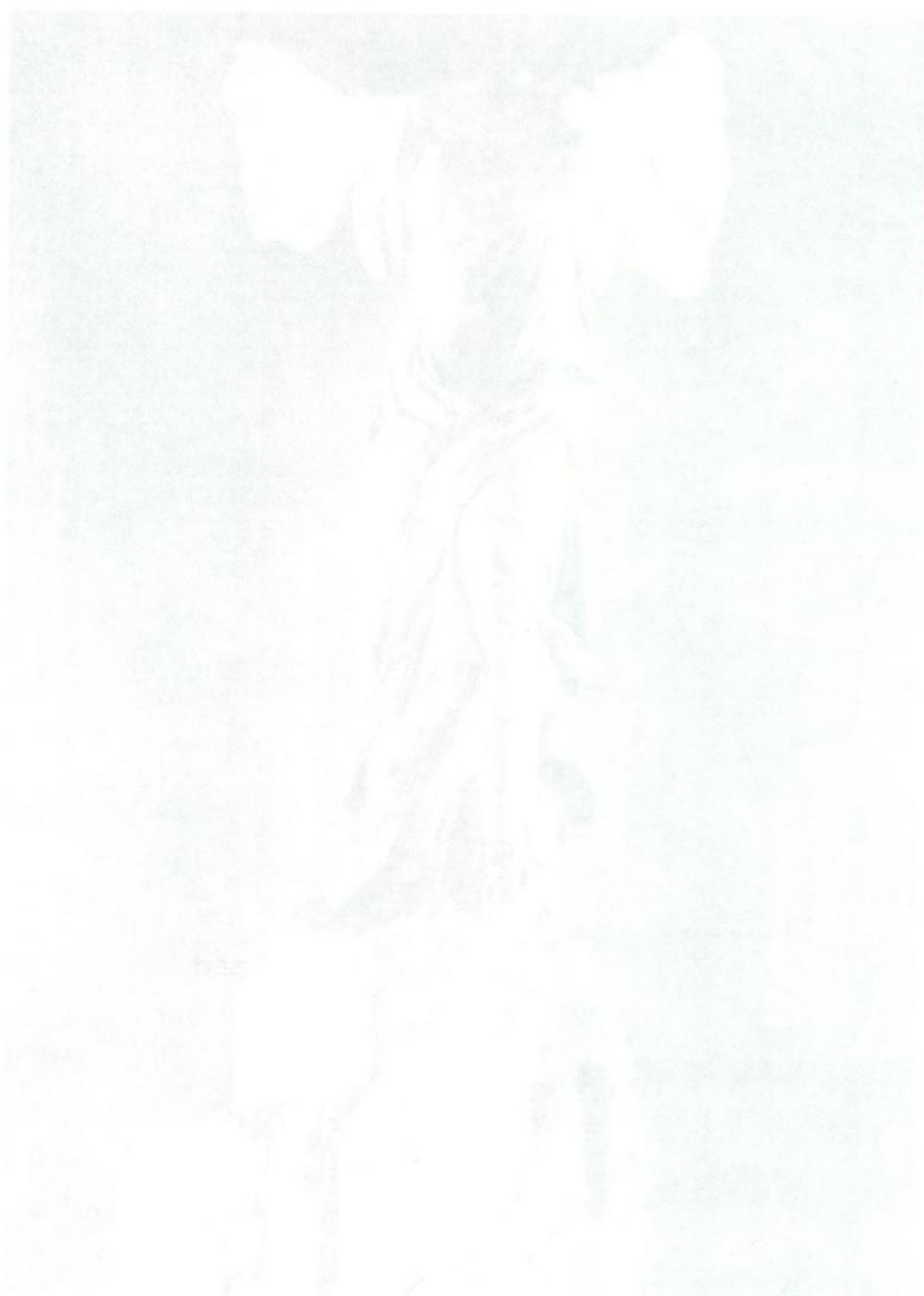
The temple was also originally painted in various colours to emphasise its detail and make it stand out from afar. Its easy to understand what a magnificent sight it was situated on a high peak overlooking Athens. It must have been an emphatic statement both to the citizens of Athens and foreign countries saying see what we can produce in terms of size and perfection, behold our wealth and imagine our warring potential. To the Athenians there was no doubt who was in control of the city. But it also gave the notion of belonging to the great city state of Athens, to be part of its richness, it's glory and victory in war and of course its rich culture. But the Parthenon can not entirely be seen as a construction to be viewed only by the humans which is much the idea of the modern world. From a contemporary perspective the Parthenon was also built very particularly for the metaphysical world. It was the place where gods and humans could co-exist, and every fourth year the citizens of Athens walked in a procession from the market place up to Acropolis and Parthenon with a robe to place around the goddess of Athens. This is not the sculpture I have already mentioned but an ancient one. This was of course very much a religious ceremony. To explain what I mean with the metaphysical world it must be placed in a wider context. That the Greeks strove for logic is well known but they also strove after something beyond themselves, the metaphysical world and the gods. In order to combine these two interests and to achieve them Greeks invented different structures and devices like rhetoric which was the architecture of language. Doric order has the same function in architecture. Architects like Ictinus and Callicrates, the creators of the Parthenon each time they built a temple they strove after truthful architecture which is to say that they strove after perfect harmony, not merely within the physical world but within the forms of architecture. It was also harmony with the metaphysical world, something that they could never fully achieve. Gods were simply the measurement of man and man the measurement of everything living in the physical world.





(PLATE .2)





So how does one achieve truthful art and architecture. This is where Doric order comes in. The Greeks believed that if you followed specific sets of rules and measurements in how to build a temple you made a truthful attempt to create something close to perfection and harmony, both for the physical and metaphysical world. Doric order is similar to rhetoric in that one is the architecture of language and the Doric Order is the structure of architecture. Both rhetoric and Doric order are devices used for the same purpose, to possess and confirm the Greek and Hellenistic culture but also to confirm their relationship with the metaphysical world. See how close the city state of Athens is to the gods of Hellos, be impressed and bear in mind in the event of conflict.

Before I end this chapter I would like to mention Nike of Samothrace a sculpture which I consider as significant icon of the Hellenistic period. It has survived into our day. She is often referred to as the goddess of victory. The sculpture was made somewhere around 200 to 190 BC. and who exactly commissioned Nike is unknown but may be could be Demeter the First of Macedonia, successor of Alexander the Great. Nike was unknown in the modern world until 1863. It was found on the little island of Samothrace Her present location is the Louvre in Paris. What Nike meant for the Greeks of the Hellenistic period is probably very different from that of the icon she had become in the nineteen and twentieth century. She was viewed then rather as the goddess of victory or approval. Nike was probably not only the goddess of victory, but also the symbol of Greek victory of the world, something that formed the Greek empire. It is also a reminder of their strong history in its relations with the school of Greece.



The idea of Nike as purely the goddess of victory has in recent years been questioned. "The name Nike is often translated as victory but such figures occur frequently in the iconography of marriage. Nike cannot clearly be interpreted simply meaning victory in the military sense. Her presence seems rather indicates divine approval and more precisely proof of a favourable outcome" (Feminine models of the ancient world", Page 156, Edited by Natalie Zemon and Arlette Forge). If this observation is true for the people of the Hellenistic period it would mean that she was not only the symbol of the Greek victory, she was also the symbol of divine approval. Like rhetoric and the Doric order she was a symbol of the metaphysical word. In order to impose power and control the city state of Athens as well as the Greek empire, war and terror was necessary, but to justify that they needed approval from higher authority. Like Pericles' speech Nike was a statement of such approval, a reason to fight for higher ideals, and if necessary a reason to die for. Nike has, ever since she was found, been a significant icon for the nineteen and twentieth century. She has also often been used in various misleading ways, not only purely for aesthetical reasons. She may even have more significance in the modern world than she had to the Greeks of the Hellenistic period. In the German occupation of Paris, Adolph Hitler and Benito Mussolini posed in front of Nike.

This was a very strong symbolic gesture. By posing in front of the Goddess of Victory if you so want to have approval from higher authority, they in a way proclaimed it, not only over France but proclaiming also a fascist victory over other ideologies, something that was bound to happen. They identified themselves strongly with a major monument of the Greek Empire and therefore put themselves in a similar historical context with Alexander the Great, and total imperial power.





When the Victorians make copies of Nike they proclaimed what they considered their cultural inheritance and in a way they also established the victory of the great civilisations victory over the "savages" that the British Empire had forced their civilisation on.

When a Swedish television programmed is named after Nike and use her as a logotype the emphasis are slightly different. This is probably more a comment on her present location in the Louvre. As this is an art and culture problem they put themselves in the position of possessing one of the masterpieces of the western world in the western civilisation, something that indirectly gives them quality. The bonds with ancient history, the masterpieces is a master of its time, something that the western world very much like to see themselves today, the rulers of the great civilisation and the masters of the world.

The thread of total power connected to the collection of art and architecture is connected by a common thread right down to the time of the Renaissance. The connection to the metaphysical continues also. To illustrate this I will demonstrate now, through the introduction of the Medici family of Renaissance Florence, how powerful rulers, such as those of Ancient Greece and their method of appeasing the gods through art and architecture is strikingly similar to the Medici Family, and their connection with the Christian God as evinced by the Pope.



Chapter 2

**Medici - A Great Florentine  
Family.**





## Chapter Two

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The Medici family is probably the most well known patron family in the history of art. During four centuries they appear as key figures, not only within the history of Florence and Italy but also in the history of Europe. In fact the Medicis could stand for the very definition of patrons as opposed to collectors.

"Indeed the history of the Medicis clearly illustrates the difference between patron and collectors. Unable to find or to stimulate new aesthetic movements later generations fell back on knowledge and on science. At that point they became collectors rather than patrons" (Marcel Brion "The Medicis, a great Florentine family, Page 11.).

The first record of the Medici in the city of Florence is dated from 1216. But it is not until the fifteenth century that the Medici become the rulers of Florence. When Giovanni de Medici died in 1429 he left the Medici's interests to his son Cosimo de Medici. But up to this point the Medici had a great economic wealth and definite political influence.

Through the Medici Bank the family gained both economical power as well as political influence, something that they exercised well, not only within Florence but in Italy, even with the Pope, which was clearly seen when Cosimo de Medici, originally exiled for ten years was allowed to return after only a few months in the year 1434. This began the era of the Medici as the rulers of Florence.

However the Medici's real talent was not in the way that they managed to achieve both political and military power, but their ability to combine these three power sources with cultural influence.

Marcel Brion "The Medicis, a great Florentine family.

Christopher Hibbert: The Rise and Fall of the Medici



I would argue that the Medicis manifestation of wealth and power through cultural influence would sustain them not only as the rulers of Florence but also as a respectable and wealthy patron family. Through the fifteenth century the Medicis ordered monuments not only for the church but for themselves, bought art and gave economical support to the most well known artists at that time. During this century most wealthy Florentine families of Florence collected art but the Medicis seems to have been the most successful. The close relationship that the Medicis had not only to artists but to intellectuals of their time, is something that Cosimo's son and grandson Piero and Lorenzo continued successfully. Cosimo De Medici was often heard to say that "the artist must always be treated with respect that they should not be considered as merely journeymen which they were to most of the patron families of its time" (The Rise and Fall of the House of Medici" - Christopher Hibbert, Page 94.).

When Cosimo died his son carried on the Medici family's interest as a patron family. He imparted to his oldest son Lorenzo a considerable knowledge of art and literature. To me Lorenzo De Medici represents the height of the Medici family's economical wealth and power. Lorenzo spoke Latin fluently, had a wide and deep knowledge in both rhetoric and literature and at the age of fifteen Piero, his father, started to send Lorenzo around Italy as the representative of the Medici family. Lorenzo succeeded in this very well.

One of the points I want to make is that to sustain the enormous and total power that the Medici family had in Florence, terror and violence sometimes became necessary. This created a problem because it meant that such act of violence could overshadow greater deeds. I would argue that the Medici family and their love for the arts served partially as a smokescreen for the methods used by them to ensure that they remained strong rulers of Florence.





The Medici family's collection of art during Piero, Cosimo and Lorenzo's reign was so interesting that artists from other patron families travelled from all over the world to see it. This did not only give the Medici family a very respected name. It made them something more than just a banking family. It also provided them with lofty ideals and when they built palazzos all around Florence, like the Greeks they physically established themselves within that city just like the city state of Athens did with its Parthenon.

They also connected themselves with the metaphysical, with the one God, so when the Medici Bank loaned money to the Pope or commissioned art works for the Church, they did so to further their relationship with the church and the authority and power of the Pope. In a careful way they also bought themselves a place in eternity. Like Parthenon to the contemporary people of Athens it meant power and authority. It also gave them a sense of belonging. This is very much the case in Florence. The Medici's family, palazzos, monuments and art works established the city's richness, confirmed its powerful position as well as its cultivated manners, something to be proud of and identified with, " Ghirlandaio's portrait of Lorenzo the Magnificent and the story of Fiorentina tells us how and why he became so important and influential of his time, and how his collection of the most beautiful objects from every corner of the world was the envy of every prince in Christendom" (Marcel Brion's "The Medicis - A Great Florentine family").

The Medici family naturally had many powerful enemies. The French, the German Empire and the Pope all attempted to destroy their power at some stage during their time as rulers of Florence. Their downfall, however, was brought about by, Savonarola, (1452 - 1498) a Dominican monk who preached in the Convent of San Marco, a convent that had been favoured and patronised by the Medicis.



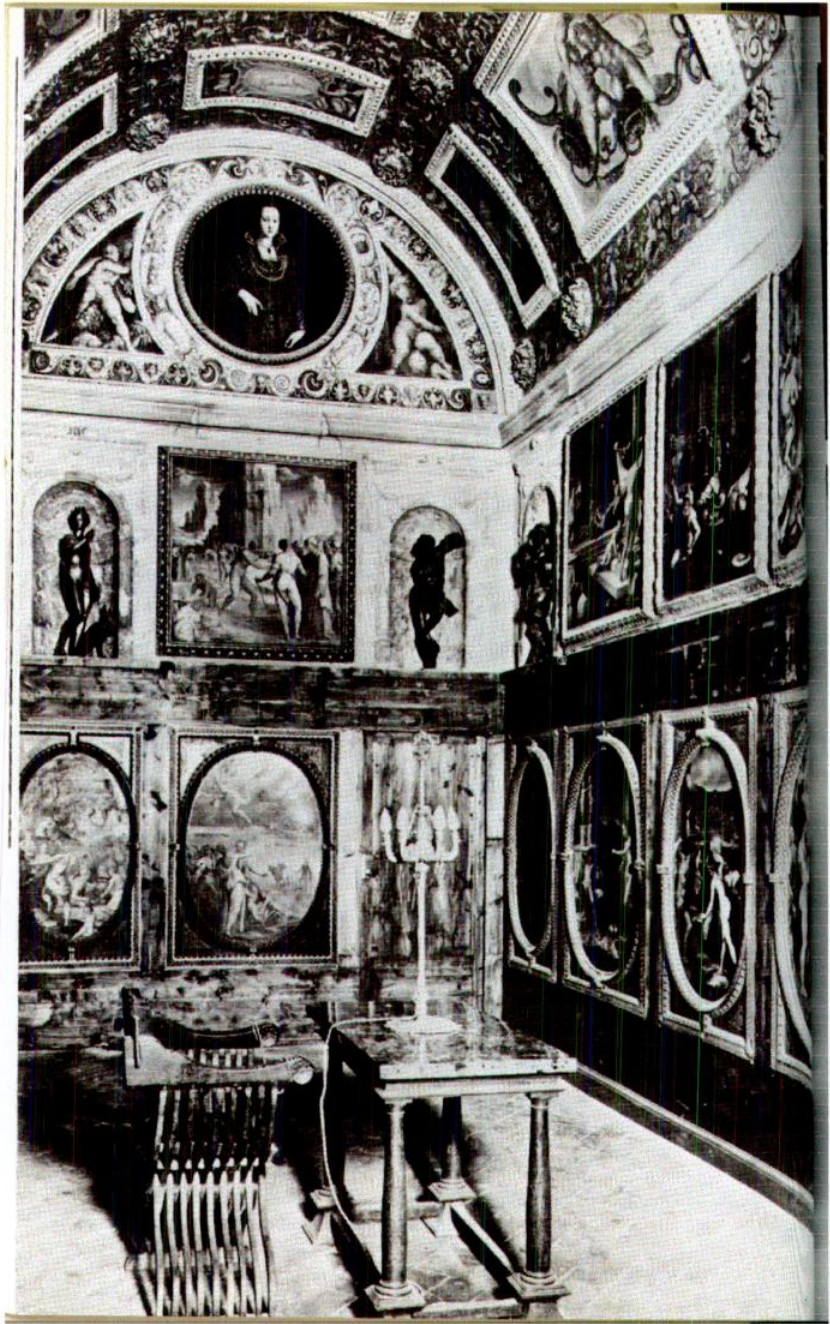


All over Europe a religious revolution was forming. Savonarola was a puritan and was deeply critical of both the Pope and the Medici and conducted a vehement campaign to disgrace them through his sermons. Even though these two men lived side by side for almost nine years, Lorenzo did nothing to destroy what must be considered his most dangerous enemy to date. Lorenzo accepted the Dominican monks freedom to preach whatever he wanted to, mainly because these two men stood for such different values and literally did not speak the same language. For example, Savonarola favourite book was the Old Testament and Lorenzo's was the Symposium of Plato (J.R.Hale: Florence and the Medici, the Pattern of Control).

The only recorded meeting between the two was on Lorenzo's deathbed, when Savonarola demanded that Lorenzo confess his sins. Lorenzo just turned his head away and died. As long as Lorenzo was alive he had far too much respect and admiration from the people of Florence. But when he died Savonarola words and movement finally turned against the family. Savonarola became a historical figure, but the Medici family became much more than that. It must be said that because of the Medici family's interest and knowledge in the art, this period, known as The Renaissance is considered one of the richest periods in the western art history. It also has to be recognised that men like Cosimo De Medici and his grandson Lorenzo had a wide and deep knowledge of all the different subjects they were dealing with, something that was central to the whole dynasty of the Medici. Apart from the fact that the Medici founded the banking system as we know it today, the art, monuments and palazzos commissioned by them will stand always as a vibrant and powerful reminder of the glories of Florence.

In art history the Medici family are one of the most important figures of the Italian Renaissance. So in the end the Medici family did not only confirm their power through art and architecture, like Parthenon in the city state of Athens they confirmed their power into the future and up to the twentieth century.





(PLATE 3)





## Chapter 3

# **The Totalitarian Ethos.**





## CHAPTER THREE

14

When the city state of Athens in Greece and the Medici family in Florence manifested their power through art and architecture they also passed the method of exhibiting their control through art and architecture right into the 20th Century. In another way you can say that they confirmed their power and their culture in the western world, long after their physical presence had ceased to exist. Society today is still very much built of a foundation of Greek culture. These are just a few examples:

During this century there has been attempts to break with this tradition and there is still a reaction towards the Greek ideals. But it is in this century there have been further attempts to re-invent the Greek and Roman culture. The reasons were all too obvious. It was to regain what we see as these two great civilisations. Two of the major totalitarian states, during this century, Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union made art, it would have to be considered, as a paradox in art history. One thing they have in common with the rulers of Florence or Athens was total power. When Adolph Hitler created the Third Reich he was very aware of the role culture and art played. The hold idea of the Third Reich was something that in itself refers to Greek and Roman Empires before, was to reinvent a great historical civilisation so to speak, to superficially build up his own historical empire. As soon as Adolph Hitler came to power in German he created a clear framework for what he considered proper art, architecture and culture. He put money into new buildings. Theatre groups travelled the country. Wagner concerts played in factories. A massive amount of painting and sculptures were bought by the state. Of course this was only proper and correct art in the ideals of the Third Reich, which in Nazi Germany meant a form of neo-classicism. Artist and architects that did not fit into this style were either forced to leave the country or simply to stop working, and their art either banned or destroyed.



Two German art exhibitions held during this period explains their policy well. On 17th July 1937 the Great German Art Exhibition opened in Munich. 1500 works were on display. Eight different professors selected these from 8000 works of art. Hitler himself made the final judgement. He was not happy with the results and complained afterward that a lot of work sent in was either incomplete paintings or poor sketches. The whole exhibition took place in the New Building For Great German Art. The art works inside, from today's perspective could be seen as either deliberate political propaganda or romanticised images of the German landscape, or the ideal peasant family. All this could be summed up as agitation for happiness.

"History it is said is the sack of facts from which each person takes what he wants" (Igor Golmstock - Totalitarian Art, P.155.)

This says a lot both about the art of Nazi Germany as well as in other totalitarian states. The motives in both sculptures and painting of the Great German Art Exhibition was in a sense an attempt to create boundaries of history through art. All this fitted in with the Nazi ideology. But having said that, the Nazi interpretation of history was a very false one, a more or less deliberate lie about the great German past, either strongly idealised or more or less invented mythology.

The same year as the Great German Art Exhibition another exhibition was held in juxtaposition with the Great German Exhibition. The Exhibition of Degenerate Art was formed to show the German people bad and degenerate art all according to the ruling ideology. Paintings by Braque, Picasso, Van Gogh and other modern artist were on display in this show. The works were hung very tightly in order to make them be seen for what they really were, "bad art" in the context of the ideals of the Nazi Party and the vision of the Third Reich. Ironically this became the biggest modernist exhibition to be held.

Peter Englund: Brev Fran Nollpunkten:

Igor Golmstock: Totalitarian Art.





Over 2 million people visited the exhibition. This was of course not only propaganda for the German people, but also Nazi Germany's way of showing their indifference to either other states and ideologies, or confirm their political standpoint (i.e. Fascism) with for example, Italy. Art in this sense was to confirm strong the Germany risen from the broken country of the Treaty of Versailles, simply a re-affirmation they were simply reclaiming what had always been there, the so called great German past. This time it made its connection with the foundations of the Western World, Classical Greece and the Roman Empire. This was of course a strong warning to countries with a strong liberal democracy, and the Soviet Union. Many of the artists on display in the Degenerate Art Exhibition were considered good art, even avant garde in some countries. It is well known that Hitler, as a young man had dreams of become an artist but did not succeed in this. In Nazi Germany, he was not only the number one art collector in the country, he was also a very big patron, e.g. official patron of the Great German Art Exhibition. Like the Medici of Florence he had a genuine interest in art. There is a vast difference however. The Medici were quite accepting as well as engaged with art, architecture and culture of its time. It is not too much to say they were an important component in the Renaissance whereas Adolph Hitler was involved in something much more paradoxical in art history.

It is simplistic to believe that Hitler alone managed to create the art and culture in the Third Reich. Albert Speer the state architect described this in a debate in 1970 as to whether Hitler could have been unaware of the Holocaust. "For anyone to claim that this could be anyone's idea but Hitler, which shows a profound ignorance of the nature of Hitler's Germany, of which nothing of any magnitude could conceivably have happen, not only without his knowledge but without his orders". (Gitta Sereny: "Albert Speer and his battle with the truth, P.7).



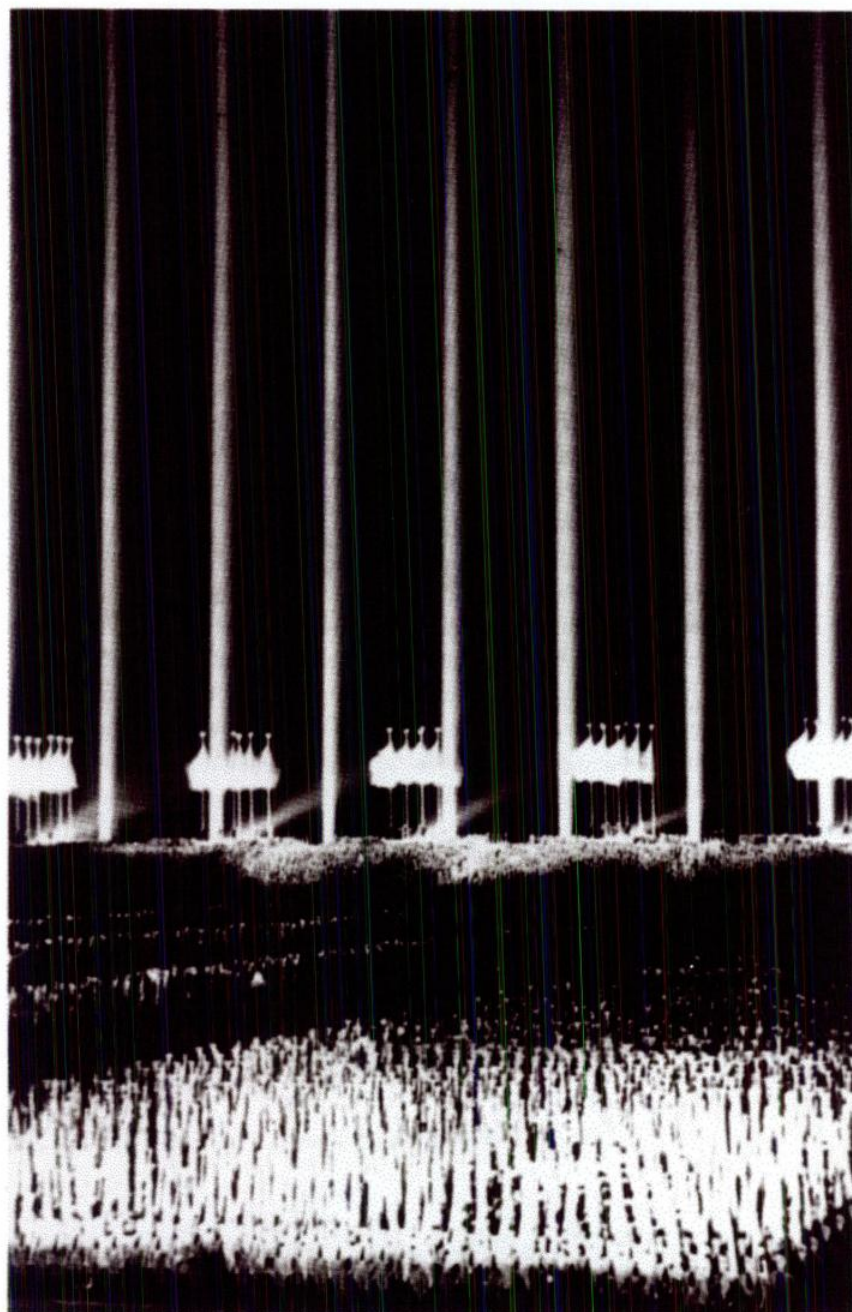


Even though this was said in relation to the Holocaust, it is easy to relate it to the manipulative attitude towards culture of the Medici family or the statesmen Pericles.

Hitler was both the patron politician as well as total ruler. He was once asked why he did not become an architect when he was so interested in it. He replied "instead of being the architect of constructions and houses, he was the architect of Germany" All architects need workers, someone to actually build the houses for him and it seems like a major part of the German population was more than happy to willingly build a new Germany.

Of course to create such a thing as the Third Reich you need people to work, painters to paint, actors to act, musicians to play and architects to construct. In one of Swedish historian's Peter Englund's essays, he writes that in his research of the people surrounding around Hitler, he expects to find the stereotype of the mad genius. Instead to his surprise, he found a bunch of crooks, disappointed intellectuals from top to bottom in Hitler's organisation, with the exception of Architect Albert Speer. He was born into an upper class home. At the wish of his father rather than by deliberate choice Speer went into architecture. As a young student he saw Hitler for the first time in January 1921, when he spoke at Speer's university. Speer got so excited by the well dressed intense man, that within in a couple days of meeting him he decided to join the Nazi party. He was later to become one of the top man in Hitler's Germany. One of Speer's commissions was to build the monuments of the rebuilt Berlin. This city was going to become the centre of the Third Reich. Hitler's ideals within art and architecture had many aspects shared by Speer. The Strict and very formal neo-classicist style suited Speer's personality as well as Hitler.





(PLATE. 4



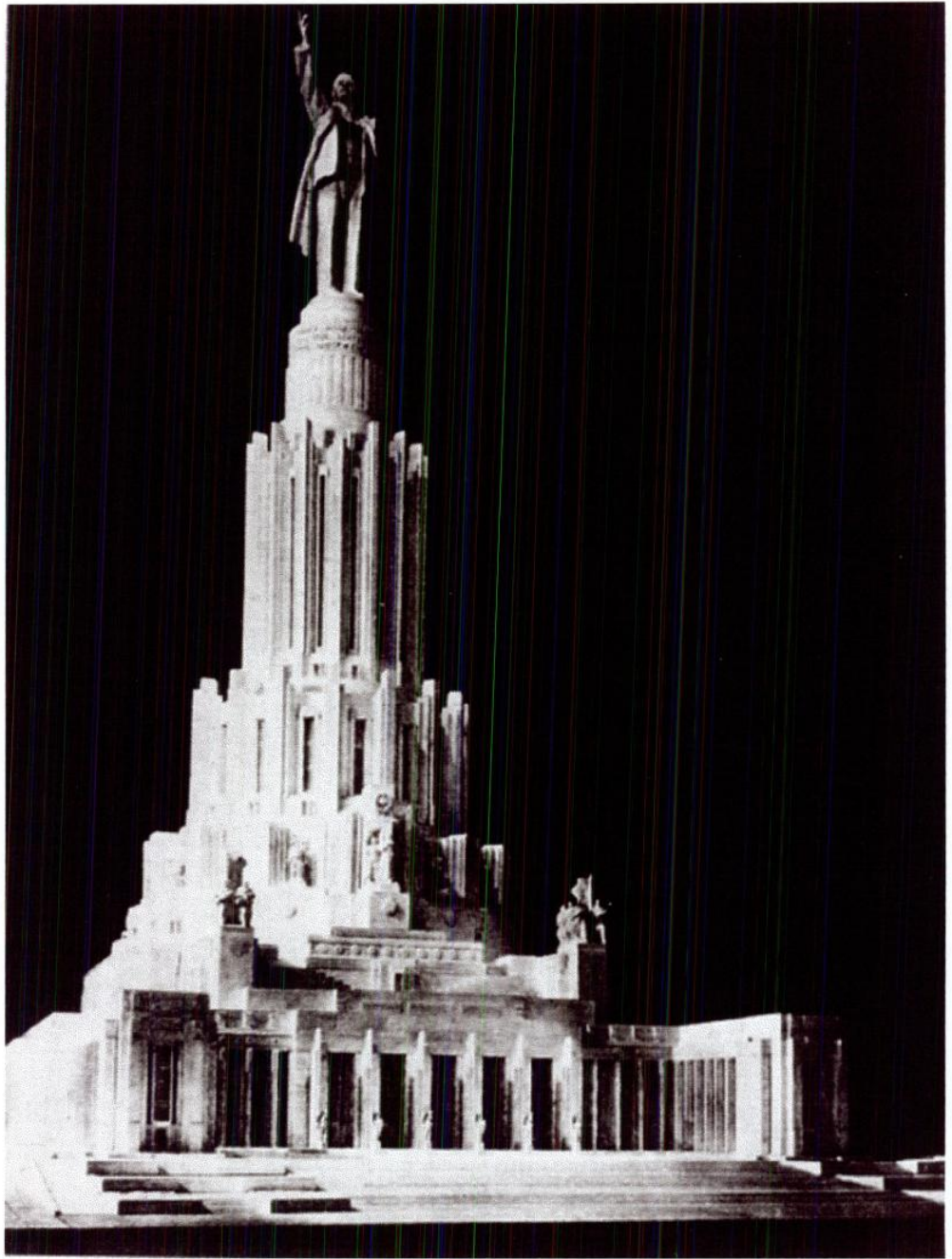


Both men were later described as very lonely with great emotional difficulties. In a way I also have to say that they acted sometimes more strongly from personal emotion than from rational thinking. Speer and his architecture cannot simply be dismissed as ideal Nazi architecture. Somehow as I see it, he had a very personal style, if very slightly a touch of modernism. Though both men seemed to have a slight admiration for each other. In the end Speer was the one planet circling around Hitler than the other way around.

Around the same period, 1937, a very similar approach towards art and architecture took shape. Though Stalin did much more as a statesman than as a patron, which means the only time he was a direct participant within the culture propaganda was in major projects such as when the building of the Moscow subway took place. Like Hitler, Stalin must have understood the role of architecture with a totalitarian state. He also had his favourite architect Boris Iofan. Like Nazi Germany the Soviet Union were going through a stormy major change in political terms. In Germany the Jewish people had just been made stateless, within the Soviet Union, the show trials and purges had reached a peak. 300,000 people were executed within the Soviet Union in 1937. The Soviet Union, upto 1930 had been mainly modernist avant garde both in art and architecture. It changed with the acceleration of the purges to something they called Social Realism. This style was very similar to Neo-Classicism of Nazi Germany. The same ideals of architecture, with enormous monuments, monstrous constructions as well as the agitation for happiness and victory through art and architecture, but unlike Hitler where the emphasis was to aid the great German past and the new society, Stalin was in the process of changing the views and emphasis of his ideological state. In both cases it was made to sustain the power of two total rulers and tyrants.







(PLATE 5)



Two very different ideologies and the manifestation of power through the arts was displayed in the World Exhibition of Arts, Crafts and Science in Paris in 1937. The exhibition contained 240 pavilions. Sweden, England and Japan contained Art Works that can be described as having a rational style. French pavilion contained, among other works, Chagall's Revolution, together with a huge painting by Miro. The Republic of Spain which was in the middle of a Civil War contained a newly finished painting by Picasso called "Guernica". The painting was a silent protest against the bombing of the civilian population of the village of the same name. It is also worth mentioning that Picasso was one of the many artists on display in the exhibition of Degenerate Art in Munich the same year. There was a large retrospective exhibition of Van Gogh's paintings, in order to show how modernist painting both broke with the traditions as well as the sustained ideas from the past and his paintings were also on display in the Exhibition of Degenerate Art. The whole idea of the world exhibition was to show that the very different political ideologies present in Europe at the time could meet up in a peaceful manifestation of art, crafts in science. It was of course a very desperate attempt to overshadow the tension and terror of a Europe very much on the edge of war. This was also the reason why the organisers chose to put Nazi Germany pavilion facing that of the Soviet Union, showing the difference between these two ideologies, supposedly on opposites of the political scale, through a peaceful manifestation. This had a very different effect. The Soviet Pavilion was a massive construction with a huge monumental sculpture on the roof, a man and a woman holding the hammer and sickle, the symbol of the Soviet Union, looking towards a future of victory and happiness, a huge creation by the state architect, Boris Iofan while Germany, on the opposite side a similar but slightly taller construction with the Nazi Eagle holding a swastika in its claws, slightly looking down on the man and woman. From his memory Albert Speer described the event in the following way.





"While looking over the sight in part, I by chance stumbled into a room containing the secret sketches of the Soviet Pavilion, a sculpted pair of figures, 33m. tall on a high platform striding triumphantly towards the German Pavilion. I therefore designed a cubic mass, also elevated on a stout pillar which seemed to be checking this onslaught, while from the corner of my tower, an eagle with the swastika in his claws, looking down on the Russian sculpture. I received a gold medal for my building, so did my Soviet colleague" (Igor Golmstock, Totalitarian Art, Page 132.)

I've already mentioned that one of the ideas in the exhibition was to show that different political ideals and different nations could meet up in a peaceful exhibition within the room of arts, crafts and science and that this was of course the reason, where the Germans and Soviet Union Pavilions were placed opposite each other but this had a very opposite effect. These two monstrous pieces overlooking the area probably with the notion of apocalyptic architecture, were in a way two concrete symbols of total power, as if the countries they were representing were from a totally different planet than other pavilions of France, Sweden, Japan. These two were representatives of fearfully similar ideologies. When Doctor Rubel, the organiser of the German pavilion described what it contained, he said "This can be summed up in very few words. The project and the science of the arts these are constructions that are destined to change the character of German life" (Igor Golmstock - The Totalitarian Art).

In a way this pinpoints the ideology and culture politics of the Third Reich. We can also draw parallels with Pericles and his ideals of Athens as the Greek School for all, because this art and architecture was not only something that was destined to change German life, it would change world history as well as the life and order in the whole world.







PLEATE6



And when Boris Iofan the organiser of the Soviet Pavilion described what it contains he says "It merely expresses the ideal of efficiency and powerful growth of the invisible movement of the Soviet Union along the path of conquest and victory" (Igor Golmstock - Totalitarian Art)

These two construction facing each other representing two totalitarian ideologies is for the afterworld, as well as a prophecy of the forthcoming World War. It also sums up the paradox in art history.

The critics in general described the exhibition as a victory for modernists. This was of course a propaganda statement in itself. As the Parthenon represents the Athenians and the Hellenist culture and its victory over the "savages", and the Florentine palazzos exhibit the power of the Medici, so each and every country that was represented in the world exhibition represented themselves in political and ideological terms. This world exhibition might have been an attempt to make a peaceful statement but it had a very different result. On very few occasions has art, crafts and science met in such an obvious a political arena of different standpoints and economical views, as in this exhibition. Instead of overshadowing the obvious problems that divided the world and Europe into pieces, it more or less underlined its differences. That these different ideologies would have problems co-existing with each other must have been obvious.

With the totalitarian states and pavilions facing straight into each other, they were very much also in opposition to the capitalist liberal democracies who were and who were also obviously, in a way in juxtaposition to Soviet and Nazi art, making a statement of liberal freedom. One could even argue that liberal democracy and modern art at it's very extreme manifestation stood out as a symbol of freedom. It was a victory of the rational.





Chapter 4

**Liberal Democracy in the Late  
20th Century.**



Furthermore I would argue that notion of free in modern art has been carried on to the present, right up to the end of 20th century.

When the American philosopher Francis Fukuyama analyses what we inherited from the French revolution of 1789 to date in his book "The End Of History And The Last Man" he comes to the conclusion that we have reached an end of history and by this he means that no major humanisation projects in terms of major historical change can be performed. The only last project is the individual freedom project. That is to say that no economical systems except for liberal democracy has the ability to change. This only economic and political strategy has the ability to fulfil the individual freedom project. I mean that in a way this is a form of rhetorical propaganda statement. If you so will, Fukuyama proclaims history only in terms of the victory of the classical capitalist and that our only future is liberal democracy. Fukuyama does not make a clear distinction between liberal politics and liberal economy. The City State of Athens, the Medici or Hitler proclaimed that they had reached an ideal form of society in the very same way, in a very same way Francis Fukuyama proclaims that we have reached the end of history, therefore have created an ideal society. It is the victory of liberal democracy over all other ideologies, such as fascism or communism. So this state of affairs does not stem from a particular ruler or politician. or is you so will, a ruling patron family. But from a global perspective this is very much a statement of victory for the western world, which in a way what you can call the Golden Triangle.

The United States, Japan and Europe form this golden triangle. 70% of world trade and commerce takes place in this area, where also a strong military power is centred.



The art of today, as well as architecture still has a notion of freedom, the free artistic soul within the free market society, a form of the individual freedom project. But if the artists within the western society are really free individuals in comparison with other periods of history. The answer is obvious in comparison with the totalitarian states, but is it really not that obvious in comparison with the Renaissance Florence. In terms of breaking with tradition in a moral and religious sense this is partly true. From an economical perspective, or if you so will, the bounds of art and its manifestation of power this is still very much present within the post modern world, which is to say it is the same as liberal capitalist democracy and the market society.

Within this society there are three major power sources, economical power, political power and so called media power. In comparison with classical Greece or the Renaissance of Florence I have so far shown that artists in these two societies were very closely connected with political as well as economical power, or with religious authority. While in the society of today artist most probably are connected with economical and media power, but in some obvious ways, also within political terms. In a way all terms of power is more difficult to pinpoint in the market society. But in an essay by Carter Radcliffe he describes the connection as he puts it "the marriage between the art and the market" and he begins this article "Imagine that art and money were characters in a novel and they were to marry. What novelist would be best to convey the nuances of their union - Henry James."

He then goes on to describe from Henry James novel "The American" from 1879. The character in the novel is called Christopher Niemann who makes a fortune through selling copper. He becomes extremely rich and then decides to go back to his old roots back in Europe.





To fulfil his life's dream he has to marry in order to fully enjoy his success. "in the perfect as I see it, there must be a beautiful woman" and proceeds on "like the statue of a monument she must be as good as she is beautiful, and as clever as she is good". This makes a very clear metaphor between the marriage of art and the market. In order to fulfil the individual freedom project for economical wealth, one would have to invest the money into something that is more purified with the higher ideal, than in mere market investment. In other terms, art purifies economical wealth.

A more concrete example of this is the art collected Charles Saatchi. He has made most of his economical wealth from a commercial adverting bureau, Saatchi and Saatchi which he started with his brother in 1970. In the 1970's the Saatchi Brothers started to build up an art collection. They continued all through the 1980 to build up and sell these collection, but it is not until the 1990's that Saatchi's collections created both major scandals as well as has been almost equalled in the art world by quality. If new young American and British sensationalist art receives a lot of media attention and therefore classed as quality. Since the art of the post modern world is so closely connected with media, most of the art of the modern age reaches a majority of its audience through magazines and television. This partly means that the only way to define quality in art in the post modern world is to be through media attention and market value. This leads me to believe that it is hardly a coincidence that Charles Saatchi has taken this position. From an advertising background he is skilled in the manipulation of media and of the public. He has the economical wealth which means he can boost the prices by just adding a new piece of art to his collection. In a way you can say the Saatchi represents not only the marriage between the art and the market but also the marriage between art and the media.



The Medicis manifested their power through art and architecture, they also combined their different power sources. They loaned money to the Pope, thus buying church and religious authority and approval which was clearly visible in the city by the building of palazzos and collecting art. This greatly benefited their reputation. Being an patron family rather than merely a banking family greatly enhanced the public's perception of the family. The Medici greatly preferred being regarded by the world as a patron family, to being bankers, or just total rulers of Florence This demanded a considerable amount of terror, violence, and in the worst cases, war.

Since I made a connection with Saatchi and the Medicis, I obviously have to note their differences. Saatchi may be a market player or media manipulator but he is hardly a total ruler, with political and military power as the Medici family was. Also Charles Saatchi may be a collector but is not patron. Most certainly the Medici Family in Florence, were very careful, both about their art collections as well as they artists they provided for. Saatchi buys and sells art more as a commodity in the market society, a useful product in terms of classical capitalism. But like the Medicis he also benefits from the specific trade of art, which has the illusion of freedom and appears liberal, and has a far superior cachet than the advertising industry or as pure monetary transactions. Being an art collector would imbue him with more charisma than a mere financier. So if art so clearly is connected with the media. In the market how is it connected political power?

In all liberal democracies these qualities have very close with media and the market. The trading of art as a commodity is very a symbol of liberal democracy. Art is a trade and therefore shall be traded with as a product. But there are much more obvious examples. Each country with a modern economy also wants to be viewed as a society with these values. Therefore most countries within the Golden Triangle have cultural institutions.





This is not only to inform the members of society of their cultural inheritance, it is to manifest very clearly values of that society. This is of course a very common phenomena all through art history and it is also one of the reasons each society wants to confirm their boundaries and what they consider as their history. It is also to confirm a specific type of wealth, both in cultural and economic terms. As society that has cultural institutions, the bigger, the better, is not only considered to be a wealthy country in terms of industry and money, it also confirms their intellectual status. The institutions also stand as an alternative to the collectors of patrons, more from a historical point of view since there are now very few collectors and even fewer patrons in comparison with the past.

But the modern art, as well as post modern, also provides the states within the Western world, with the illusion of freedom, that it to say a free economic system as well as the symbol of the free man. When it comes to architecture it is not so very different from the totalitarian states, classical Greece or Florence, even though it is not as extreme. Every bank building of the western world is built so that it stands for economic power and every city with a strong economy rebuilds, reforms and modernizes their city very much with the change of local political power. Usually all these can be seen through a city's architecture. Fukuyama proclaims we have reached an end of history, which means that we have reached an ideal system. For the rich and wealthy people in the western world this might appear true, but to the larger world population this statement seems to apply to another planet. In a way Francis Fukuyama proclaims the western world's victory over the ideologies of less developed cultures, the "savages". I would argue that art and culture within the western sometimes in it's most unconscious way helps to manifest and declare this message, although this is slightly simplifying matters, since there has been many attempts within this society to form a critical voice through art, with political emphasis.

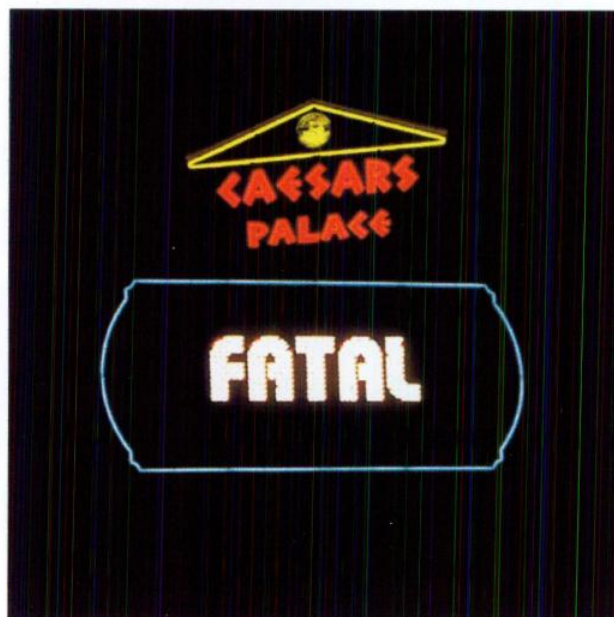


During the 1970's it was the feminist movement of Judy Chicago. What I mean is that in movements like that, no matter what it said and how it is dealt with, merely reaffirms the feminine art and the feminine in history, and that in the end it just had the effect of giving them a position within the market society. When Jenny Holzer in the 1980's, an artist who mainly works in text "lack of charisma can be fatal", it in many ways summons up the relationship with the economically wealthy and the arts. To define the economical freedom project it is necessary not merely to be very rich, you must extend this into beyond consumerism into higher planes, more charismatic, to an ideal (i.e. art) both in order to gain respect, but also to earn a place in eternity through the media.

Of course there are other ways than to become an art collector. Art has, from a historical sense, always been the provider of lustre and respect, so the rich and powerful may be seen as benign and cultural providers rather than the often cruel tyrants they were. Charisma is bought through the arts. The American painter Ashley Bickerton, whose work features regularly in the Saatchi Collection recently painted a portrait of Saatchi called "The Patron". It portrays a man sitting in front of his television with one hand stuck into his underpants. His expression is tired and bored. In the background we can see two more famous modernist pieces, thrown up much more as decoration than a piece with higher ideals. One can easily be led to believe that this reveals the bored, uncharismatic art dealer which lives through the reputation of his collection. But Saatchi is not merely just a market player, he knows the rules too well. He did not only put these paintings on display in his own gallery, among his own collection. He paid the money and bought the piece. And through this action only confirmed his status as the British art guru of his time. We cannot possibly know how history will form itself and how the afterworld will view people like Saatchi and his collection.







(PLATE .7)





It seems very possible that he too, like the Medici family will be remembered in art history much more as the art collector than the simple market player.

Although most of this thesis has been very critical towards art as a manifestation of power, I also have to say that through many periods in world history, power has played a significant role. In these time, those in power always emphasised, through art and architecture, the extent of this power. In these times art and it development prospered exceedingly. Both Classical Greece and Renaissance Florence are considered the major key points in the art history of the western world. When a major step, or a big development took place, we had never lived in a society before in history where image is so widely spread and access to it almost unlimited. One of the results of this is that commercials in the western world almost have the status of an art form and is one of the most widespread form of image spreading with an enormous audience, but there is still a division between art and advertisement. Art in the sense of art and institutions tries to adopt the same strategy of mass spread image information that advertisement has, but very rarely succeeds. But when the art world in the post modern claims they are equal with mass cultural mediums such as television and advertisement that proclaims both the victory history and the future, and at the same time refuses to live in any time but now time. Truly it seems to me that art and architecture now as before helps to confirm and posses this political and economical system as well as this society.



### Conclusion:

In the first chapter I talked about rhetoric, Parthenon and Nike and how each in their own way was a manifestation of power. The significance of this chapter was the link between these three phenomena to the future and to the present date.

In chapter two I then went on to describe the Medici Family. I described how the Medicis kept their difference sources of power together with the help of the good name they gained by the status of being art patrons. I also described the significance of their name and power is remembered through their interest in art and architecture which remains throughout the western world today.

In chapter three I introduce totalitarianism. I described Nazi ethos together with Soviet ethos. I also made a link between chapter one and chapter two in summing up both totalitarian regimes and their similarities. Towards the end of the third chapter is a description of the World Exhibition in Paris in 1937. Which shows how contrasting political ideologies can be used in art, architecture and science as political propaganda.

In the fourth and last chapter I discuss late twentieth century art and use it to describe how art today has an aura of being free but how it is in fact manipulated and linked to other power sources of today. However, the pattern of control through the arts has continued from classical Greece through the Renaissance of Florence and up to the twentieth century.





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